

distinguished auspices, is needed at this moment to rally the country to those true principles by which alone this great rebellion can be permanently suppressed. I should be truly happy to take part in it, and try to impart to others something of the strength of my own convictions.

It is only necessary that people should see things as they are, and they will easily see how to deal with them. This is the obvious condition of practical action. Now, beyond all question, slavery is the great transcendent malefactor and omnipresent traitor—more deadly to the Union than all the leaders, civil or military, of the rebellion. Of course, therefore, if you are in earnest against the rebellion, you will not spare slavery. And happily the way is plain—so that it cannot be mistaken.

Look now throughout the whole rebel territory, and you will not find a single officer legally qualified to discharge any of the functions of Government. By the Constitution of the United States, "members of the several State Legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." But these functionaries have all renounced their allegiance to the United States, and taken a new oath to support the Rebel Government; so that at this moment they cannot be recognized as constitutionally empowered to act. But a State known only through its functionaries constitutionally empowered to act; and a race that have ceased to exist, the State, with its unnatural institutions, has ceased to exist, or it exists only in the dead parchments by which its Government was originally established. The action of these functionaries was impotent to transfer its territory to a pretended confederation. To destroy the States was all that they could do.

In the absence of any constitutional authority in this territory, Congress must assume all necessary jurisdiction. Not to do so will be an abandonment of duty. There are some who propose a temporary military government; others propose a temporary provisional government, with limited powers. All these concede to Congress jurisdiction over the territory; nor can this jurisdiction be justly questioned. But it seems to me clearly best that, on this important occasion, we shall follow the authoritative precedents of our history, and act as Congress has been accustomed to do in the organization and government of other territories. This will be best.

And, as to slavery, if there be any doubt that it died constitutionally and legally with the State from which it drew its wicked breath, it might be prohibited by the enactment of that same Jeffersonian ordinance, which originally established Freedom throughout the great North-West.

Accept my thanks for the honor you have done me, and believe me, dear sir,

Faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

JAMES MCKATE, Esq., Chairman, &c.

LETTER FROM THE HON. HENRY WILSON.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1862.

DEAR SIR: Your note requesting my attendance at a meeting to be held on the evening of March 6, of the citizens of New York "who rejoice in the downfall of treason," and are ready "to destroy the cause of such treason," has been received. I regret that my duties here will not permit me to meet with the citizens of the commercial metropolis of our country, who will on that occasion respond to the summons of the eminent gentlemen who compose your committee. I am sure your meeting will fully comprehend the duties of the hour, and utter the accents of patriotism and humanity.

Slavery, not content with stoning for years the voice of conscience and reason, diminishing the spirit of liberty, going at the faith and creed of the Republican Fathers, debauching political organizations, and dishonoring the public men of our age, has extinguished the patriotism of large masses in one section of our country, and impelled its supporters to raise the banners of a bloody insurrection.

To-day Slavery "has lifted up," in the words of Bancroft, "its hand to strike a death-blow at our existence as a people—it has avowed itself a desperate and determined enemy of our national life, of our unity as a Republic." Shall we confront this "desperate and determined enemy of our national life," with uplifted "hand to strike a death-blow at our existence," with soft words and whispering humbleness, or shall we not rather, in the name of a periled country, by the strong hand of an outraged people, smite it down forever?

Humanity, justice, and patriotism all demand that the American people should never pardon the GREAT CRIMINAL that has raised the banner of revolt against the unity and authority of the Republic. The blood of our fallen sons demands that the Government for which they gave their lives should walk up to the verge of Constitutional power in inflicting condign punishment on their murderer.

The nation that slaves should use every legitimate and constitutional power to put it in process of ultimate extinction. To that end I would at once abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, repeal the BLACK CODE that dishonors the National Capital, tender to the loyal slaveholding States the treasures of the Federal Government to aid them in the work of Emancipation, deal justly and liberally with the loyal men of the rebel States, but free the bonds of rebels.

With much respect, I am your obedient servant,

HENRY WILSON.

To J. MCKATE, Esq., Chairman of Com. of Arrangements.

LETTER FROM THE HON. DAVID WILMOT.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1862.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of invitation to attend a meeting to be held at the Cooper Institute, in the City of New York, on Thursday evening, the 6th inst., has been received.

I am honored by your invitation, and would be pleased, if it were convenient, to be present and participate in the proposed meeting. My public duties will hold me here; and I can only respond briefly by letter to your kind invitation.

I heartily approve of the objects of the meeting as set forth in the call. The honor and safety of the nation demand that the cause of this gigantic rebellion should be forever removed. This alone will give us peace and safety, honor and national respect.

Slavery is the one exclusive, and only cause of the rebellion and the war, through which we are struggling for national existence. It is now made clear to all, that slavery is the deadly foe of the Union—the implacable and eternal foe of free Government. A truly free Government, founded upon justice and right, and appealing to reason and benefit law for its existence, never did, and never can long exist, in the name of slavery. God, in his providence, has placed slavery within the rightful power of the nation. We must not tremble and tremble, because of the magnitude of the labors and duties cast upon us; we must meet and discharge our duties, as men in whose hands is placed the ark of human happiness and hopes. We must and will, if necessary, destroy and wipe out from this nation the accursed institution of human slavery.

The slaveholder, by his treason and rebellion against the Constitution, and by the war he has forced upon the Government for self-preservation, has wholly absolved us from all constitutional and political obligations to treat his unnatural claim of property in man with any toleration whatever. When the traitor is forced by arms from his purpose to destroy the Constitution and Government, he cannot, the moment he is defeated in his wicked purpose, plead the Constitution he made way to overthrow as the shield and protection for his forfeited rights of slavery. It is the right and duty of the nation to protect itself now, and in the future. We must make another rebellion greater than that now upon us. The national law must be preserved by applying the knife to the cancer that is infecting the very substance and life of the nation. The nation must make a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of every traitor; and as a matter of policy, not of strict right, provide for making compensation to the loyal slaveholders, for the temporary loss incident to the speedy emancipation of their slaves. Less than this we cannot do with honor or safety. We have a right to do more. We have a right, instantly and at once, to uproot and eradicate forever any local institution, law, custom, usage, that puts in imminent peril the national life. We have a right to kill slavery that the nation may live.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. WILMOT.

JAMES MCKATE, Chairman of Committee.

LETTER FROM THE HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4, 1862.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 1st inst., inviting me to be present at your proposed meeting at the Cooper In-

situte on Thursday next, and I regret that my public duties here forbid my attendance. I could not hope, however, if present, to say anything that could not distract our national troubles, or their cause and cure. Upon these topics I have already avowed my opinions, quite explicitly and at some length, in a speech in the House of Representatives, on the 14th of January; and every passing day deepens my conviction of the truth of my positions. This rebellion is the child of slavery. It admits of no other possible solution. The fact is as palpable as the existence of the rebellion itself, and requires little proof. If there are persons who deny it, the attempt to convince them of their error would be like "administering medicine to the dead."

We are thus prepared to defend the only true and saving policy for our country, namely, the total extirpation of slavery, as the righteous purpose of the war and the sole means of a lasting peace. As an argument against slavery, and a reason for its overthrow, this rebellion is overwhelming. All the evils of slavery, social, moral, political and economical, are eclipsed by this final tragedy. We have patiently borne the evils of slavery for more than 70 years, striving to live with the master in peace, and to tolerate the master by every form of concession and compromise, to be rewarded by this stepdreaded scheme of treason, piracy, and murder. Having run through the whole gamut of ordinary villainies, slavery has at last turned National assassin. It has inundated the land with the horrid atrocities of two hundred years, and painted its own character with a pencil dipped in hell. Every dollar expended in this war is expended because of slavery. Every soldier perishing in battle or by disease is the murdered victim of slavery. And every wail of sorrow ascending from broken and bleeding hearts is a "Thus saith the Lord" for scourging it from the land. These facts, instead of being ignored, should be kept in perpetual remembrance; for we can only hope for the favor of God in this terrible struggle by keeping steadily in view the cause of our quarrel.

If it be said that the Constitution stands in the way of this policy, I reply, that the Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution. The Nation is greater than the Constitution, because it made the Constitution. The President, Adams, has helped me by some striking examples, that the country is paramount to the Constitution, and no one could complain should this principle be adopted in dealing with slavery, the source of our disasters. But I reply, further, that this is unnecessary. The Constitution recognizes the war power of the Government, which the rebels have compelled us to employ against them, and that power is, of course, commensurate with the demand for its employment. As a "military necessity," in strict accordance with the laws of war, and without any violation of the Constitution, we can now destroy the institution of slavery utterly, if we will. The rebels having taken their stand outside of the Constitution, and defied its power, have no rights under it which loyal men are bound to respect. They have forfeited their property of every description, and the right to their own godless lives. The rebel States, by their act of rebellion, have committed suicide, and Congress ought to say so, and condemn them traitors, preparatory to their reorganization and admission into the Union. No short of this sweeping policy will save the country. We must cease to regard rebels and outlaws as "our misguided Southern brethren," and deal with them as rebels and outlaws. We must cease to deal with slavery as our pet and favorite, as the spared object of our love, and give it our quickest and hardest blows. Instead of giving the world to understand that this is a mere contest for power between contending States, we must write Freedom on our banner, and thus elevate our cause to the dignity of a grand battle for Republicanism. Nor should the Administration hesitate a moment to reconsider its avowed policy of reconstruction on the basis of slavery, which would leave the cause of all our troubles to canker the heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds.

I agree that this is not a struggle for the emancipation of black men, but for the life of a nation of thirty millions of people; but since it is slavery that has the life of the dead, we should destroy it absolutely and forever. Not to do so would be to betray the cause of our country. And, Heaven-daring, we may say to the world, "We will not let the circumstances of our country have a hand in the conservation of the rebellion; we will make it a horrid mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices, if we do not see to it that a permanent peace shall follow; while the millions in chains, now legally free by the act of their rebel masters, would be held out for its instant abolition as a lingering process."

Fourth—It not only personally recommends "a gradual abolition of slavery," but by its very terms holds out no inducement for any State to immediately emancipate its slaves; whereas, slavery ought not to exist for one moment, and special inducements ought to be held out for its instant abolition as a condition of its acceptance.

Fourth—The President is at war with common sense, sound reason, the teachings of history, the instincts and aspirations of human nature, the laws of political economy, and the uniform results of emancipation, when he says—"In my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation better for all, in the mere financial or pecuniary view"—because no such parity consideration is allowable, even if it were (as it is not) well founded. Ethically and pecuniarily, immediate emancipation is best for all parties; and the President is culpable for keeping up the old delusion of "gradualism." Away with it!

Sixth—The President, as well as Congress, in consequence of this slaveholding rebellion, and the dire extremity into which it has brought the nation, has now THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT, POWER AND OPPORTUNITY to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof"; and neither the President nor Congress was allowed to evade this solemn duty by any dodge of this kind. "Now is the accepted time," and now let it be "the day of salvation." Multitudes of petitions from all the free States, signed by tens of thousands of estimable citizens, are before Congress, asking for the immediate abolition of slavery under the war power; and are these to be satisfied by proposing such a "will-o'-the-wisp as a substitute?" Why wait for the dealers in human flesh to determine when they will deem it advisable to cease from their villainy as a matter of pecuniary advantage and cunning speculation with the Government, when the Government is clothed with constitutional power to dispose of the whole matter, at once, without any huckstering or delay? "Let JUSTICE be done, though the heavens fall." President Lincoln, delay not at your peril! "Execute judgment in the morning—break every yoke—let the oppressed go free."

Your obedient servant,

JOHN PIERPONT.

LETTER FROM THE REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) March 3, 1862.

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F. D. G.

POWELL
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ARPENTER

GEN. FREMONT'S DEFENCE.

The New York *Tribune* March 2d publishes General Fremont's statement, presented to the Committee on the conduct of the war, in defense of his course with administering the military affairs of the Western Department. It with documents, occupies five closely-printed pages of that journal, and of course we can only make a brief synopsis of so voluminous a document.—

"Gen. Fremont was assigned to the command in July last. The Department then composed of the Mississippis, all the States, the territories, and the Mississippi river to the Rocky Mountains, including New Mexico. He was furnished with no plan of a campaign. His discretionary powers were given him.

"The Illinois contingent of troops, seven thousand

were unarmed. Their cavalry was without horses or sabers, their artillery companies had hardly any guns, and were wholly without sabers and sabre.

"I deem it of importance that the States and people im-

mediately interested should be at once distinctly in-

formed as to what they may begin to consider

whether to accept or reject it. The Federal Gov-

ernment would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation.

"I have no objection to the adoption of such a measure, but I hope that the Government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the dis-

affected region, and that all the slave States of north-

erness will then say, 'The Union for which we

have struggled being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section.'

"To deprive them of this hope substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation

of a movement completely deprives it of its, as to all the States, of all its power and influence.

"The States tolerating slavery would very soon, if at all,

initiate emancipation, but that while the offer is equal-

ly made to all, the more northern shall, by such initia-

tion, make it certain to the more southern, that in no

event will the former ever join the latter in their

protection. Confide, because, in my judgment,

and in the words of the Constitution, is the best

method of self-government.

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Poetry.

For the Liberator.
MY CHILDHOOD HOME
BY E. BURROUGHS.

I love the scenes of childhood,
And childhood's happy home,
The streamlet and the wildwood,
Where oft we roamed and roamed.

No tree in all the forest
But seems a chosen friend;
No frail and fragile tree's
But seems to comprehend.

The hawk to steep and noisy,
When oft we played of yore,
Or lay from morn till gloaming,
Aho'er'd the Greenbrier here.

You stream, so bright and many,
Where singling long and late,
We strayed in childhood's prattle,
Nor dream'd of after fate.

The mountain old and stony;
The pines we planted, dead;
Within, the same old chambers,
Whence sainted spirits fled.

There, long their voices sounded
Like music in our ears,
A sister's and a mother's—
I cannot hold my tears!

They drop upon the threshold,
Where oft we sat in love;
Upon the shrubs we planted,
Before they went away.

0, blessed ones in glory!
The angels must be glad,
Ye led us into Jesus,
By gentle ways ye had!

I miss upon the playground
The old acorn'd shade;
The cool and airy arbor
Has long ago decay'd.

I miss the gorgeous maples
In autumn hues so bright;
But still our old oak valley
Is full of golden light!

How all has chang'd, dear brother,
Since you and I were here!
Gone are the springtime blossoms,
And all is brown and bare.

Gone are the merry voices,
And gone the merry heart;
For all our present laughter
Is fore'd by sickly art.

Then, let us seek, dear brother,
A rest beyond the tomb,
Where sainted ones are waiting
To shout a "Welcome home!"

Boston, Feb. 13, 1862.

For the Liberator.

TO THE THIRTEENTH MAINE REGIMENT.
On whose banner is inscribed, "We strike for the Union
and man's birthright, Freedom."

Aye, noble sons of the Pine Tree State,
Press forward with vigor, nor longer wait;
But dash at the foe with a freeman's nest,
And release the bondmen at God's behest!

The scroll on your banner is helmet strong
To confront the rebels, and conquer wrong;
Press on with vigor, and hold it high—
The rebels shall see it, and quickly fly.

The slave shall see it, and, hurying fast,
Will smile at its promise, nor heed the past;
But his soul, elate with Liberty's breath,
Will rush on to join you in life or death.

Strike for the standard on whose silken fold
Blatant man's birthright in letters of gold;
Strike for the Union, and LIBERTY too—
Then will your prowess the rebels subdue.

The Union you fight for is one without slaves—
Then rush to the battle, and conquer, ye braves!
The sword of the Lord shall victory win,
For his banner is waved when ye fight against sin!

Boston, March 6, 1862. MERCY B. JACKSON.

Paterson, (N. J.) Guardian.

WAITING FOR DAY.
BY A. GIBBS CAMPBELL.

I looked from the mountain height, and saw
Rapine assume the robes of law!

Justice I saw drawn out apace,
While Robbery climbed to the highest place.

Humanity, trampled down in the street,
Lay bleeding beneath unfeeling feet.

And rulers, and priests, and people, all
Quickly responded to Rapine's call;

And shouted aloud, "Henceforth art thou
The only God to whom we will bow."

A chosen few were, indeed,
Who would not swear to the robber-creed;

But disturbed the nation's wicked rest,
Pleading the cause of the poor oppressed;

And they were hissed, and hooted, and cursed,
As though all men they were the worst.

But they still kept faith in God, and some
Attested that faith by martyrdom.

Fa! Freedom, wounded, hid away,
And dared not walk in the light of day;

But Rapine, bolder and bolder grown,
Swore that the nation was all his own.

And over it now his black flag waves,
A nation once free,—now a nation of slaves!

Its sun has set, and a starless night
Drops like a curtain, before my sight!

I look again from the mountain height,
To catch the first gleam of morning light.

I hear the first shot of a distant gun,
Which speaks of a battle just begun—

The hurried tramp of armed hosts I hear,
Whose martial tread shakes a hemisphere.

By the cannon's stifl'd glare, I behold
Two banners over the field unrolled;

On one shines the stars with waving light,
The other black as Rapine's night;

Two hostile armies, in battle array,
Each eager to enter the terrible fray;

One eager to fight for Rapine's throne,
The other willing to let him alone;

But no sure gleam of coming morn
Through the gloom of this rayless night is borne.

Ye know that a brighter day shall rise
To cheer our hearts, and gladden our eyes.

Justice and Law shall resume their sway,
While Rapine and Robbery sink away.

Humanity, lifted up from the dust,
No more by violence shall be crushed—

For Christ our Lord shall come and reign—

His glance shall shatter each poor slave's chain;

And whatever shall dare obstruct his path
Shall be swept away by Jehovah's wrath.

And that day, by prophets long foretold,
Shall its bright glories all unfold!

For its speedy coming let us pray:
Oh! hasten, dear Lord, the perfect day!

MARCH.

A nation waits, oh earth, (like thee,)
With bleeding heart, and anxious gaze;

Till war's wild winter cease to be,

And peace shall bring her summer days.

THE LIBERATOR.

The Liberator.

MISSIONARY DISHONESTY.

Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, of Salem, Recording Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, has a long article in the January number of the *American Theological Review*, the purpose of which is to correct certain erroneous statements in the "Memorial Volume" lately published by Dr. Anderson, purporting to give a true account of "the first fifty years" of the operations of the Board.

The following paragraph from that article will show the writer's conviction, not only of the importance of truthfulness and accuracy in a work purporting to be historical, (like the Memorial Volume,) but of the imperative duty of correcting errors in such a work, even though the correction involve labor and expense:

"It has long been our conviction, therefore, that those who have the opportunity and the power of attempting the correction of such errors as, uncorrected, will inevitably become a part of accredited history, should not shrink from the duty which, according to the *Golden Rule*, they imperatively owe to the public."

This was written in 1775, before the culture of cotton had scarcely been thought of in this country. He continues:

"To the slave cultivators of ancient times gradually attached the species of farming known as cotton in France by the name of *metayer*. They have been so long in use in England, that at present I know no English name for them. The proprietor furnished them with the stock, cattle, and instruments of husbandry, the whole, in short, necessary for cultivating the farm. The produce was divided equally between the proprietor and the farmer, after setting aside what was necessary for keeping up the stock, which was restored to the proprietor when the farmer either quit or was turned out of the farm."

"Such tenants, being freemen, are capable of acquiring property; and having a certain proportion of the produce of the land, they have a plain interest that their service should be as great as possible in order that their proportion may be large. A slave, on the contrary, who can acquire nothing but his maintenance, consults his own ease by making the land produce as little as possible over and above that maintenance. It is probable that it was partly on account of this advantage, and partly on account of the attachments which the sovereigns of the colonies had to their authority, and which seems, at least, to have been such as rendered this species of servitude altogether inconvenient, that tenure in villa-ges gradually wore out through the greater part of Europe. The time and manner, however, in which so important a revolution was brought about, is one of the most obscure points in modern history."

According to Dr. Worcester, the parallel appears to be about perfect between the condition of society in Europe in ancient times, which brought about the extinction of slavery there, and its condition in this country now, which is bringing about the same thing here. The self-interest of every man, he scarce knows how—the religion of commerce, is spreading its influence to encourage and stimulate a more profitable system than the slave culture of the South. We want better and safer market there; an augmented production to create an augmented consumption of values. We want to accommodate the South with greater supplies, and we want the South to accommodate us by paying for them, which it appears to be unable or unwilling to do under slave culture. The spirit of Commerce speaks irascibly, but forcibly, to the South—"Get more capital; get more intelligence; I will send you schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, because I must have more traffic; and neither your interest nor my desire can be accommodated under your system of slave culture." It is the old teaching in a new country—more labor and better—more profit and more wealth.

And the sovereigns of this country are with reason even jealous of the great lords of the cotton fields, and very properly and inevitably encourage their vassals to make encroachments upon their authority. These rascally lords have been threatening noisily the sovereigns of this country with their venom for thirty years or more. They grovel in the dirt, and shake their noisy appendages—"Don't tread upon me!"—while commerce, and science, and religion, and philanthropy, with war in harness, are driving the car of progress through their fields and over their bodies with no more regard to "Don't tread upon me!" than to the hissing of the reptiles who lie in the path of human advancement, without sense enough to see that, if they do not get out of the way, they must be crushed to death. Again, it is the old teaching in a new country—"No resistance to the legitimate sovereignty of freedom and truth and right of human society."

The Metayer culture does not differ essentially from the custom of taking a farm upon shares in this country. The chief distinction appears to be, that custom governs wholly in the Metayer system, while the joint account system with us is governed by special contract. Sismondi, however, speaking chiefly of Tuscany, says:—"This connection is often the subject of a contract to define certain services and certain payments to which the metayer binds himself; nevertheless, the differences in the obligations of one such contract and another are inconsiderable; the exposure of those omissions and misstatements, alterations were made in the fourth edition of the same work, which seeming, and only seeming, to give admission to this part of the Board's history, continue and aggravate the original dishonesty, instead of atoning for it.

These facts, with details of evidence demonstrating their truth, have been laid before Dr. Worcester. What impression do they make upon him? How much does he care that the Secretaries and the Prudential Committee have not only upheld slavery, but upheld it by a long course of dishonest maneuvering, including many instances of direct deception, and ended with the attempt to conceal their guilt by falsifying the history of their first half century?

He coolly admits that the Memorial Volume, "in this respect, will be unsatisfactory to many;" he gently intimates that he himself would have been "pleased if there had been more fullness and explicitness on this subject;" but he concludes, with a fervor evidently coming straight from the heart—"But we do hope that we have heard the last of it in the meetings of the Board."

The contrast (both of feeling expressed and of action proposed) between these two cases is noteworthy and instructive.

When it is *merely* the maintenance, by his pious and reverend associates, of a system of caste in America like that which they oppose in India, (including, like that, occasional burnings alive of the inferior class,) he earnestly deprecates, not this state of things, but all complaint respecting it, and all further attempts to call to account those who have established and upheld it.

When, on the other hand, the question is whether his venerable father had more or fewer associates in the original formation of the "American Board," and whether that institution was founded in one year or another, then truth, accuracy and justice are seen to be of the very highest importance; then no labor, no expense, and no interference with the repose of the Board will be misplaced (he thinks) in the attempt to rectify its errors.

This position of Dr. Worcester naturally brings to mind, not only the difference it makes to a man whether it be his ox, or merely his neighbor's, that is gored, but that narrative, handed down to us from ancient times, of a great conference-meeting, where various animals assembled for penitential exhortation and confession. The lion, the tiger, the wolf and the bear confessed the destruction of numerous lives for the gratification of their appetites, and their offenses were passed by as venial. The ass acknowledged having once, under the pressure of hunger, nibbled without leave some of the parson's grass, was immediately condemned, as a wretch unworthy to live.—C. K.

SAFETY OF EMANCIPATION.

In a letter from Mr. Webb of Dublin, in a late *Anti-Slavery Standard*, he says—

"Not only in America, but in England, the greatest horror is expressed of the consequences of a servile insurrection. Contrasting the relative area and population of the slave States and of those islands and other colonies in which the act of British emancipation took effect, this dread appears both cowardly and puerile. Omitting Texas, the area of the slave States is about 1,000,000 square miles; whites 10,000,000; slaves 4,000,000. This is about 50,000 square miles, al-

METAYERS.

Civilization in Europe has advanced the slave to the Metayer. This, it seems to me, is the normal progress commanded by history as the true policy to be pursued with respect to the slaves of this country. I take leave to ask the attention of the friends of the colored race to this suggestion, which seems not to have occurred to any of them in this anxious inquiry—"What is to be done with the emancipated slaves of the South?"

Adam Smith says—

"The pride of man makes him love to domineer, and nothing mortifies him so much as to be obliged to condescend to persuade his inferiors. We never do this, after all, but the man whom the work can affect, therefore, he will generally prefer the service of slaves to that of freemen. The planting of sugar and tobacco can afford the expense of slave cultivation. The raising of corn, it seems, in the present time can not."

This was written in 1775, before the culture of cotton had scarcely been thought of in this country. He continues:

"The pride of man makes him love to domineer, and nothing mortifies him so much as to be obliged to condescend to persuade his inferiors. We never do this, after all, but the man whom the work can affect, therefore, he will generally prefer the service of slaves to that of freemen. The planting of sugar and tobacco can afford the expense of slave cultivation. The raising of corn, it seems, in the present time can not."

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